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XICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES
MIGRATION STATISTICS. IV

BY

PAUL S. TAYLOR

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN ECONOMICS
Volume 12, No. 3, pp. 23–50, 10 maps

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MEXICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES
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INTRODUCTION

The flood tide of Mexican immigration ceased with 1929, and the ebb began in 1930. As the ebb tide in its turn is now slowing down, a review of the migration in fresher and clearer perspective is possible and opportune. To contribute to some aspects of such a survey is the purpose of the present study. It utilizes unpublished data of the Mexican Migration Service and Secretariat of Economics and Statistics, unused material from the latest United States census, which includes for the first time a separate classification of "Mexicans," and long-accumulated fragments of statistical and observational data.

This is the tenth study of a series on Mexican labor in the United States projected by the Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration of the Social Science Research Council, and continued by its Committee on Population. Supplementary support was provided by the Board of Research of the University of California. Generous aid from the United States Civil Works Service made possible more adequate presentation of data and more prompt preparation of manuscript for publication than otherwise was possible. Together with many of my colleagues I share a debt of gratitude to Professor Felix Flügel, who administered Civil Works research projects on the California campus with sympathy, imagination, and an efficiency which notably facilitated their execution.

I

REPATRIATION OF MEXICANS, 1930–1933

The field studies in this series of monographs were made during the three last years, 1927–1929, when Mexican immigration was at its height. In an earlier paper the statistics of the era of mass immigration were presented and analyzed.[1] The last four years, 1930–1933, have witnessed a sudden change in direction of movement owing to acute depression in the United States and in spite of similarly depressed conditions in Mexico. The statistics of this second epoch of the migration are presented here.

[1] See Mexican Labor in the United States, I, 242–255.

The best measure of the return movement is afforded by the records of the Mexican Migration Service. The American figures, for reasons pointed out earlier, have been totally inadequate as a record of departures across the Mexican land border. Their continued complete inadequacy in this respect is shown by the fact that during the (fiscal) years 1930–1932 they reported only 68,455 departures of Mexican emigrants and non-emigrants, while the Mexican statistics showed 291,033 entries of Mexicans from the United States during the same three (calendar) years. Mexican statistics have always recorded the southward migration more completely than the American. Incomplete recording of northward movement, the greatest weakness of Mexican data in the past, has been diminished in recent years by increased efficiency of both Mexican and American migration services. Indeed, it may be pointed out that for the years 1930–1933 the Mexican figures for emigrants to the United States actually exceeded the American figures for immigrants from Mexico. Furthermore, for purposes of this study, the relative importance of understatement of the northward migration is reduced greatly as the volume of that movement declines. For the particular period under review, therefore, the Mexican statistics furnish by far the best measure available, and one which is reasonably satisfactory. These figures are presented in table 1.

It will be observed that the southward movement quickly reached its peak in 1931 and has declined sharply since that time; the net movement of repatriates fell from 115,344 to only 31,484 in 1933. This shrinkage occurred partly because of improved conditions in the United States, but principally because of adverse reports, from earlier repatriates, of economic conditions at home.[2]

The extent of the repatriation, large as it is, has been greatly exaggerated in American newspapers and lay opinion. The net movement of approximately 270,000 since 1930 represents only 19 per cent of the number of Mexicans in the United States in that year.

It is significant to note, also, that during the four prosperity years, 1926–1929, the Mexican Migration Service reported the high total of approximately 218,000 repatriates, or more than two-thirds the number of repatriates during the depression years, 1930–1933. The great repatriation movement of depression thus actually turns out to be hardly 50 per cent greater than the usual repatriation movement of prosperity. The significant difference in repatriation during prosperity and during depression lies in that fact that the repatriates and new emigrants can not, under depressed economic conditions and American administrative

[2] See, for example, Bogardus, *op. cit.*, and my Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community, Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico (University of California Press, Ibero-Americana: 4), 53 ff.

TABLE 1

MIGRATION OF MEXICAN CITIZENS BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES, 1930–1933*

Year	Entries into Mexico			Departures from Mexico			Difference in favor of entries	
	Repatriates	Tourists	Total	Emigrants	Tourists	Total	Repatriates minus emigrants	Entries minus departures
1930	67,596	5,008	72,604	17,475	8,250	25,725	50,121	46,879
1931	123,148	7,940	131,088	7,804	10,183	17,987	115,344	113,101
1932	79,243	8,098	87,341	5,651	8,359	14,010	73,592	73,331
1933	36,281	9,289†	45,570†	4,797	10,128‡	14,925‡	31,484	30,645
Total	306,268	30,335	336,603	35,727	36,920	72,647	270,541	263,956

* From official Mexican statistics, mostly unpublished. The distinction between "repatriations" and "emigrations" on the one hand, and "tourists" on the other, rests on the character of the visit to the United States. E. S. Bogardus, "Mexican Repatriates," in Sociology and Social Research, November-December, 1933, p. 170, cites repatriation figures 1930-1932 slightly in excess of those given here. The figures in this table cover repatriations from the United States only.

† Includes 9 "transmigrantes" and 237 "diplomaticos," total 246.

‡ Includes 21 "transmigrantes" and 276 "diplomaticos," total 297.

restrictions,[3] leave Mexico as they did before, and otherwise would continue to do.

The areas in the United States from which the repatriates have departed are discussed later on pages 28 ff. and in tables 3, 7, and 8.

II

DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930

The rapid influx of Mexican immigrants during the twenties made impossible any adequate intercensal measure of their numbers or distribution. With publication of the 1930 census, taken just after the crest of immigration was attained, measurement becomes possible. Introduction of a new census classification of "Mexican" provides for the first time an enumeration of these immigrants and their children, partly Indian and usually laborers, whom southwestern Americans call "Mexican."[4] In setting up this racial classification the census has recognized correctly the characteristic social attitudes which retard assimilation of Mexicans, and hold them a group apart. But, curiously, although it has recognized Mexicans as a "race" as well as an immigrant group, it has gone but part way, as compared with its treatment of Chinese, Japanese, Indians, *et al.* With the grandchild of a Mexican immigrant, classification as "Mexican" ceases; Chinese, Japanese, and Indians, on the contrary, are placed in their respective categories to the last generation.[5]

Although third (and fourth, etc.) generation Mexicans were excluded by definition, it appeared when the census returns came in that some of these had been irregularly included by some enumerators. In the entire United States, 264,338 persons, or 18.6 per cent of the total number of Mexicans reported, were native "Mexicans" of native parentage, that is, third generation Mexicans who would have been excluded by strict adherence to the census instructions.[6] The extent to which these persons were included varied greatly in different states, and even lesser census divisions, owing partly to different proportions of third generation Mexicans who were residents in the state or division, and partly to varying practices of census enumerators. In the five states which together reported 95.6 per cent of all the "native Mexicans of native parentage" returned in the entire country, the numbers so reported, and the percentage

[3] Which, it should be noted, were put into effect in March, 1929, before depression started.

[4] The 1930 census enumerators were instructed to classify as Mexican "all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who are not definitely white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese." In prior censuses, the nearest categories to this were provided by the classification "foreign born whites whose country of birth was Mexico," or more accurately, including the second generation, by persons of "foreign white stock whose country of origin is Mexico." In 1930 only 65,968 persons of Mexican birth or parentage were returned as white, and 1,422,533 as Mexican.

[5] In the census of November, 1934, the term "Mexican" probably will be redefined to make the classification comparable to "Chinese" *et al.*

[6] Fifteenth census, II, 34, table 9.

which they represent of the total number of "Mexicans" returned by the census, were as follows: Texas, 146,806 or 21.5 per cent; Colorado, 32,956 or 57.1 per cent; California, 29,138 or 7.9 per cent; New Mexico, 25,586 or 43.1 per cent; Arizona, 18,955 or 16.6 per cent.[7]

This failure to include by definition, and largely in practice, persons beyond the second generation as "Mexicans" presents peculiar problems in areas where people of third, fourth, and further generations of Mexican descent are numerous. In southern Colorado and New Mexico particularly, and to a lesser extent in Texas, Arizona, and California, there are large numbers of persons culturally Spanish, whose mother tongue is Spanish, whose ancestry is Spanish or Mexican, whose forefathers for generations have inhabited the area.[8] In order to ascertain in New Mexico the extent to which these people were excluded in fact by the census classification "Mexican," an approximation of the "Spanish" population of the counties of the state was attempted. The basis of the estimate is the state school census of August, 1931, the closest in time to the federal census of April 15, 1930, which is available. Detailed comparison of the 1931 school census with subsequent school censuses made in the light of known changes in each county, indicate that on the whole, with the exceptions given in the footnote, the 1931 census represents with substantial accuracy the composition of the school population on the date of the school census.[9]

The school census reported in each county the proportion of all children of school age, 5 to 16 years inclusive, except Indians,[10] who were culturally "Spanish." Of course Mexicans were included. To arrive at an estimate of total "Spanish" population in each county, these proportions were applied to the total population, minus Indians, reported by the federal census in each county. Although the proportion of children of school age to the total population of the nationality group undoubtedly differs somewhat between "Spanish" and non-Spanish people in New

[7] Data by courtesy of Bureau of Census.

[8] These people are known generally as Spanish-Americans in New Mexico and southern Colorado, and as Texas-, California-, and Arizona-Mexicans elsewhere, except that the designation by state of birth includes also the second generation. See also I, 104, fn. 13.

[9] Under-enumeration of "Spanish" children of 1931 seems to have been serious in four counties, Chaves, Curry, De Baca, Eddy, in which the estimated "Spanish" population fell below the federal enumeration of Mexicans. In Chaves and Eddy counties, the succeeding school census showed increases of approximately 50 and 10 per cent, respectively, in the proportion of Spanish children, corroborating this view. The same 1932 census, on the contrary, showed slight decreases in the proportion of "Spanish" in Curry and De Baca counties. But, in view of the conditions under which the school census was taken, serious under-enumeration of "Spanish" by the school census is the most probable explanation of the unexpected discrepancy in which the more limited census class exceeds the more inclusive, in four counties. For assistance in analyzing and interpreting New Mexican data, I am indebted to Dr. George I. Sanchez, Director, Division of Information and Statistics, New Mexico State Department of Education.

[10] The number of Indian children who may have been included in the school census is negligible.

Mexico, the higher proportion of children among the former is somewhat offset by less complete enumeration of "Spanish" children by the census takers. Change in racial composition of the population of the state between the dates of the federal and school censuses was insignificant. Furthermore, comparison with estimates by political leaders of relative voting strength of "Spanish" and other elements of the population lends confidence in the results as a whole. At any rate, these are the best estimates available, and are believed to provide reasonably close approximation to the truth.

Figures based on the foregoing calculations are presented in conjunction with the federal census enumeration of "Mexicans" in table 2. Whereas the federal census reported 59,340 Mexicans, it is estimated that there were 202,709 persons of "Spanish" (including Mexican) stock in the state, an excess of 243 per cent. The maximum excess of "Spanish" over census "Mexicans" was 18,398 in Rio Arriba County, in which only 66 Mexicans were reported. Cartographic representation of the comparison is provided by the inset map of New Mexico appearing on map 1 (following p. 50). It will be observed that the greatest discrepancies between "Mexicans" and "Spanish" occur in the northern half of the state. Mining and intensive agriculture, which have expanded notably within the past two decades, account for the large Mexican population of the southern half of the state. The northern part was settled very early in the colonial period, and fairly heavily, and is characterized industrially by dry farming, small-scale irrigation developed originally by the Indians and early colonists, small-scale mining, and lumbering, none of which have required an influx of outside labor within recent decades. Consequently, in that area the population is principally "Spanish" and escapes the census category of "Mexican."

Table 3 presents the distribution of Mexicans in principal states of the United States in 1930. Half of them resided in Texas and one-quarter in California. Their concentration is further emphasized by the fact that nine-tenths of the Mexicans lived in five states: Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. It will be noted that repatriations occurred somewhat unevenly from the Mexican colonies of the country. It required virtually eight states to furnish nine-tenths of the repatriates. Texas furnished only slightly more than its share of repatriates; California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado supplied materially less. In the northern industrial colonies[11] of Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana there resided 3.6 per cent of the Mexicans of the United States in 1930; but these states furnished 10.5 per cent of all repatriates during 1930–1932!

[11] Michigan used considerable numbers of Mexicans in the production of sugar beets, but most of these probably were not in the state on April 15, when the census was taken.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF "MEXICANS" IN NEW MEXICO ACCORDING TO FEDERAL CENSUS, 1930, WITH ESTIMATED "SPANISH" POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO ACCORDING TO STATE SCHOOL CENSUS OF AUGUST, 1931; BY COUNTIES*

County	"Spanish"			Mexicans		
	School population	Per cent of total school population	Estimated total "Spanish" population	Number	Per cent of total population	Excess of "Spanish" over Mexicans
Bernalillo	8,360	50.8	22,498	1,255	2.8	21,243
Catron	573	45.8	1,503	998	30.4	505
Chaves	345	8.0	1,561	2,818	14.4	−1,257
Colfax	3,330	38.4	7,355	1,860	9.7	5,495
Curry	169	3.1	490	612	3.9	−122
De Baca	350	29.4	851	901	31.1	− 50
Dona Ana	5,871	66.4	18,129	14,765	53.8	3,364
Eddy	1,688	30.5	4,930	5,157	32.6	−227
Grant	4,133	59.2	11,275	9,999	52.5	1,276
Guadalupe	1,490	59.8	4,202	125	1.8	4,077
Harding	1,030	51.4	2,271	15	.3	2,256
Hidalgo	1,012	60.6	3,042	2,115	42.2	927
Lea	298	12.1	743	44	.7	699
Lincoln	1,145	45.1	3,245	2,872	39.9	373
Luna	1,105	53.5	3,341	2,420	38.7	921
McKinley	1,227	36.7	4,067	3,939	19.1	128
Mora	3,556	95.2	9,827	21	.2	9,806
Otero	1,196	36.1	3,275	3,048	31.2	227
Quay	790	18.8	2,035	161	1.5	1,874
Rio Arriba	6,466	92.8	18,398	66	.3	18,332
Roosevelt	500	9.2	1,021	104	.9	917
Sandoval	2,140	87.9	7,220	133	1.2	7,087
San Juan	419	17.0	1,110	137	.9	973
San Miguel	6,400	77.2	18,208	208	.9	18,000
Santa Fe	4,662	54.4	10,409	834	4.3	9,575
Sierra	1,390	82.2	4,261	2,377	45.9	1,884
Socorro	1,760	79.2	7,462	1,035	10.8	6,427
Taos	4,498	90.5	12,334	16	.1	12,318
Torrence	1,964	58.1	5,385	90	1.0	5,295
Union	1,305	29.7	3,274	203	1.8	3,071
Valencia	4,547	77.2	10,007	1,012	6.3	8,995
Total	73,719	51.4	202,709	59,340	14.0	144,389

* Data on "Spanish" from George I. Sanchez, "School Census Distribution in New Mexico for (August) 1931," in New Mexico School Review, January, 1932, pp. 18-19, as corrected by the author. The school census does not include Indian children (see text).

On the accompanying map, "Spanish" in Albuquerque and in the rest of Bernalillo County are shown separately. In the absence of 1931 data indicating the proportion of "Spanish" in each of these localities, the percentages reported by the school census of 1932, namely, 30.1 per cent, and 81.1 per cent, respectively, were employed in estimating total "Spanish" population. For the method of estimating total "Spanish" population, see text.

For calculating "total 'Spanish' population," percentages to nearest tenth only were used. Therefore, the sum of the estimates for individual counties is 203,729, representing 51.7 per cent of the total state population (minus Indians). Based upon the school census alone, however, the correct estimate for the state as a whole is 202,709, arrived at by using 51.4 per cent, which is the percentage of school census children reported as "Spanish."

Because of the change of census classification described earlier, it is not possible to measure with complete accuracy the trend in distribution of Mexicans during the past few decades. A sufficiently close comparison may be made, however, with the census reports prior to 1930 of foreign-born residents born in Mexico. Utilizing these data, it appears that the proportion of Mexicans in the United States residing in Texas has de-

TABLE 3

Distribution of Mexicans in the United States, 1930, and of Departures of Repatriates, 1930–1932; by Principal States*

State	Mexicans in U.S.A.			Departures of repatriates	
	Number	Per cent of all Mexicans	Cumulative percentage	Per cent	Cumulative percentage
Texas	683,681	48.1	48.1	49.7	49.7
California	368,013	25.9	74.0	19.6	69.3
Arizona	114,173	8.0	82.0	6.9	76.2
New Mexico	59,340	4.2	86.2	2.4	78.6
Colorado	57,676	4.1	90.3	3.1	81.7
Illinois	28,906	2.0	92.3	5.3	87.0
Kansas	19,150	1.3	93.6	1.2	88.2
Michigan	13,336	.9	94.5	2.7	90.9
Indiana	9,642	.7	95.2	2.5	93.4
Oklahoma	7,354	.5	95.7	.5	93.9
Wyoming	7,174	.5	96.2	†	†
Others	54,088	3.8	100.0	6.1	100.0
Total	1,422,533	100.0	.....	100.0	.....

* Computed from United States census and from unpublished official Mexican sources.
† Separate data for Wyoming not available.

clined steadily since 1900, as indicated by the percentages reported successively by the last four censuses: 68.7; 56.3; 51.8; 48.1.[12] The sharply rising proportion residing in California is shown by similar percentages: 7.8; 15.2; 18.2; 25.9. Ranked in order of size of Mexican population, the first four states in 1900 stood: Texas, Arizona, California, New Mexico. By 1910 California had assumed second place; with this change only, the ranking has remained the same ever since 1900.

The distribution of Mexicans in 1930, by counties, is shown on map 1. The use of volumes, rather than areas, to represent population agglomerations is employed in this map, as in earlier studies of this series.[13] In the original drawing from which the map was reproduced 20 Mexicans were represented by a sphere of 0.5 mm. radius. Since the volumes of spheres are to each other as the cubes of their radii, 1300 persons, for

[12] The data for 1900–1920 appear in tabular form in "Mexicans in California: report of Gov. C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee," p. 31.

[13] For explanation, see I, 274.

example, are represented in the original drawing by a sphere with a radius of 2 mm., and 10,000 by a sphere with a radius of 4 mm. In reproduction the map was reduced approximately one-fifth. Mexicans in urban centers, that is, in cities of 25,000 population or over, are shown separately from those in rural areas. The heavy massing in rural areas of the four southwestern border states and Colorado stands out clearly; likewise the concentration of Mexican colonies in large industrial cities of the midwest lake region.

III

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT AND RACE MINORITY PEOPLES, 1930

Cartographic representation of the distribution in the United States of any particular immigrant population, as in the present study in map 1, has long been customary. In order, however, to reveal the numbers and distribution of Mexicans in relation to other significant groups, map 2 (following p. 50) and the supporting table 4 have been prepared. Virtually all immigrant and race minority groups are represented; all white immigrants are presented as a single category and only native whites are omitted from the table and map.

Volumes of spheres, rather than areas of circles, are employed to represent agglomerations of population on map 2. On the original drawing from which this map was reproduced, a sphere with a radius of 1 mm. represented 1000 persons. Since volumes of spheres are to each other as the cubes of their radii, a sphere of 4 mm. radius represents 64,000 persons, and a sphere of 8 mm. radius represents 512,000. In reproduction the original map was reduced approximately one-fifth.

The presence of large supplies of Negro labor in the South, together with its relatively late and partial industrialization, explains largely the absence of white immigrants from that area. Prior to the census of 1930 Professor Willcox made a striking statement of the geographical separateness of immigrants and Negroes:

> There is not one state, and has not been for 50 years, in which 10 per cent of the population were of foreign birth and 10 per cent were also of African stock. . . . There are two belts of states, one from Maine to California, in which at least 10 per cent of the population is of foreign birth, the other from Delaware to Texas, in which at least 10 per cent is Negro. The two belts overlap nowhere. . . .[14]

The same condition continues today, as table 4 and map 2 demonstrate. The predominance of Mexican and Indian populations in parts of the Southwest over other represented groups will be observed. The labor rôle occupied by Negroes in the Old South is filled west of the black

[14] International Migrations, II, 108.

TABLE 4

PRINCIPAL IMMIGRANT AND RACE MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930; NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION BY DIVISIONS, STATES, AND SECTIONS*

Division and State or Section	Foreign-born whites		Negroes		Mexicans		Indians		Japanese		Chinese		Filipinos		Hindus		Percentage of immigrant and race groups to total population
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
United States	13,366,407	10.9	11,891,143	9.7	1,422,533	1.2	332,397	0.3	138,834	0.1	74,954	0.1	45,208	.....	3,130	.....	22.2
1. New England	1,834,310	22.5	94,086	1.2	107	.....	2,466	.....	352	.....	3,794	.....	358	.....	47	.....	23.7
2. Middle Atlantic	5,269,042	20.1	1,052,899	4.0	6,757	.....	7,709	.....	3,662	.....	14,005	0.1	2,882	.....	493	.....	24.2
3. East North Central	3,223,924	12.7	930,450	3.7	58,317	0.2	19,817	0.1	1,022	.....	6,340	.....	3,027	.....	339	.....	16.8
4. West North Central	1,059,277	8.0	331,784	2 5	39,805	0.3	48,245	0.4	1,003	.....	1,738	.....	784	.....	29	.....	11.2
5. South Atlantic	304,278	1.9	4,421,388	28.0	691	.....	19,060	0.1	393	.....	1,869	.....	861	.....	22	.....	30.1
6. East South Central	57,665	0.6	2,658,238	26.9	1,403	.....	2,106	.....	46	.....	743	.....	50	.....	8	.....	27.5
7. West South Central	170,232	1.4	2,281,951	18.7	695,996	5.7	95,670	0.8	687	.....	1,582	.....	839	.....	83	.....	26.7
8. Mountain	287,914	7 8	30,225	0 8	249,314	6.7	102,083	2.8	11,418	0.3	3,252	0.1	1,391	.....	148	.....	18.5
9. Pacific	1,159,765	14.2	90,122	1.1	370,143	4.5	35,241	0.4	120,251	1.5	41,631	0.5	35,016	0.4	1,961	.....	22.6
The North (1, 2, 3, 4)	11,386,533	15.6	2,409,219	3.3	104,986	0.1	78,237	0.1	6,039	.....	25,877	.....	7,051	.....	908	.....	19.2
The South (5, 6, 7)	532,175	1.4	9,361,577	24.7	698,090	1.8	116,836	0.3	1,126	.....	4,194	.....	1,750	.....	113	.....	28.3
The West (8, 9)	1,447,679	12.2	120,347	1.0	619,457	5.2	137,324	1.2	131,669	1.1	44,883	0.4	36,407	0 3	2,109	.....	21.4
New England																	
Maine	100,368	12.6	1,096	0.1	2	.....	1,012	0.1	3	.....	115	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	12.8
New Hampshire	82,660	17.8	790	0.2	1	.....	64	.....	.....	.....	84	.....	3	.....	1	.....	18.0
Vermont	43,061	12.0	568	0.2	1	.....	36	.....	1	.....	34	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	12.2
Massachusetts	1,054,636	24.8	52,365	1.2	66	.....	874	.....	201	.....	2,973	0.1	157	.....	42	.....	26.2
Rhode Island	170,714	24.8	9,913	1.4	10	.....	318	.....	17	.....	197	.....	25	.....	1	.....	26.4
Connecticut	382,871	23.8	29,354	1.8	27	.....	162	.....	130	.....	391	.....	160	.....	3	.....	25.7
Middle Atlantic																	
New York	3,191,549	25.4	412,814	3.3	2,898	.....	6,973	0.1	2,930	.....	9,665	0.1	1,982	.....	320	.....	28.8
New Jersey	844,442	20.9	208,828	5.2	454	.....	213	.....	439	.....	1,783	.....	286	.....	110	.....	26.1
Pennsylvania	1,233,051	12.8	431,257	4.5	3,405	.....	523	.....	293	.....	2,557	.....	614	.....	63	.....	17.4

* Compiled from United States census. Less than one-tenth of one per cent not shown in percentage column. The following race groups are not included in this table nor on map 2: Korean, 1,860 (1,097 in California); Hawaiian, 660 (456 in California); Malay, 96; Siamese, 18; Samoan, 6.

TABLE 4—(*Continued*)

Division and State or Section	Foreign-born whites		Negroes		Mexicans		Indians		Japanese		Chinese		Filipinos		Hindus		Percentage of immigrant and race groups to total population
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
East North Central																	
Ohio	644,151	9.7	309,304	4.7	4,037	0.1	435	.....	187	.....	1,425	.....	88	.....	55	.....	14.4
Indiana	135,134	4.2	111,982	3.5	9,642	0.3	285	.....	71	.....	279	.....	77	.....	14	.....	8.0
Illinois	1,218,158	16.0	328,972	4.3	28,906	0.4	469	.....	564	.....	3,192	.....	2,011	.....	87	.....	20.7
Michigan	840,268	17.4	169,453	3.5	13,336	0.3	7,080	0.1	176	.....	1,081	.....	787	.....	181	.....	21.3
Wisconsin	386,213	13.1	10,739	0.4	2,396	0.1	11,548	0.4	24	.....	363	.....	64	.....	2	.....	14.0
West North Central																	
Minnesota	388,294	15.1	9,445	0.4	3,626	0.1	11,077	0.4	69	.....	524	.....	236	.....	3	.....	16.1
Iowa	165,735	6.7	17,380	0.7	4,295	0.2	660	.....	19	.....	153	.....	40	.....	6	.....	7.6
Missouri	149,390	4.1	223,840	6.2	4,989	0.1	578	.....	94	.....	634	.....	321	.....	9	.....	10.5
North Dakota	105,148	15.4	377	0.1	608	0.1	8,387	1.2	91	.....	103	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	16.9
South Dakota	65,648	9.5	646	0.1	816	0.1	21,833	3.2	19	.....	70	.....	7	.....	1	.....	12.9
Nebraska	115,346	8.4	13,752	1.0	6,321	0.5	3,256	0.2	674	.....	194	.....	55	.....	1	.....	10.1
Kansas	69,716	3.7	66,344	3.5	19,150	1.0	2,454	0.1	37	.....	60	.....	95	.....	9	.....	8.4
South Atlantic																	
Delaware	16,885	7.1	32,602	13.7	24	.....	5	.....	8	.....	38	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	20.8
Maryland	95,093	5.8	276,379	16.9	56	.....	50	.....	38	.....	492	.....	327	.....	6	.....	22.8
District of Columbia	29,932	6.1	132,068	27.1	67	.....	40	.....	78	.....	398	0.1	294	0.1	7	.....	33.5
Virginia	23,820	1.0	650,165	26.8	36	.....	779	.....	43	.....	293	.....	126	.....	.....	.....	27.9
West Virginia	51,520	3.0	114,893	6.6	257	.....	18	.....	9	.....	86	.....	6	.....	1	.....	9.6
North Carolina	8,788	0.3	918,647	29.0	10	.....	16,579	0.5	17	.....	68	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	29.8
South Carolina	5,266	0.3	793,681	45.6	9	.....	959	0.1	15	.....	41	.....	18	.....	2	.....	46.0
Georgia	13,917	0.5	1,071,125	36.8	47	.....	43	.....	32	.....	253	.....	29	.....	2	.....	37.3
Florida	59,057	4.0	431,828	29.4	185	.....	587	.....	153	.....	200	.....	46	.....	4	.....	33.5

TABLE 4—(*Concluded*)

Division and State or Section	Foreign-born whites		Negroes		Mexicans		Indians		Japanese		Chinese		Filipinos		Hindus		Percentage of immigrant and race groups to total population
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
East South Central																	
Kentucky	21,840	0.8	226,040	8.6	88	.....	22	.....	9	.....	60	.....	5	.....	1	.....	9.5
Tennessee	13,066	0.5	477,646	18.3	25	.....	161	.....	11	.....	70	.....	14	.....	4	.....	18.8
Alabama	15,710	0.6	944,834	35.7	69	.....	465	.....	25	.....	52	.....	25	.....	3	.....	36.3
Mississippi	7,049	0.4	1,009,718	50.2	1,221	0.1	1,458	0.1	1	.....	561	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	50.8
West South Central																	
Arkansas	10,173	0.5	478,463	25.8	409	.....	408	.....	12	.....	251	.....	15	.....	2	.....	26.4
Louisiana	34,910	1.7	776,326	36.9	4,552	0.2	1,536	0.1	52	.....	422	.....	515	.....	28	.....	38.9
Oklahoma	26,753	1.1	172,198	7.2	7,354	0.3	92,725	3.9	104	.....	206	.....	21	.....	4	.....	12.5
Texas	98,396	1.7	854,964	14.7	683,681	11.7	1,001	.....	519	.....	703	.....	288	.....	49	.....	28.1
Mountain																	
Montana	72,961	13.6	1,256	0.2	2,571	0.5	14,798	2.8	753	0.1	486	0.1	295	.....	4	.....	17.3
Idaho	30,454	6.8	668	0.2	1,278	0.3	3,638	0.8	1,421	0.3	335	0.1	97	.....	7	.....	8.5
Wyoming	19,658	8.7	1,250	0.6	7,174	3.2	1,845	0.8	1,026	0.5	130	0.1	45	.....	2	.....	13.8
Colorado	85,406	8.2	11,828	1.1	57,676	5.6	1,395	0.1	3,213	0.3	233	.....	250	.....	28	.....	15.4
New Mexico	7,797	1.8	2,850	0.7	59,340	14.0	28,941	6.8	249	0.1	133	.....	27	.....	20	.....	23.5
Arizona	15,591	3.6	10,749	2.5	114,173	26.2	43,726	10.0	879	0.2	1,110	0.3	472	.....	50	.....	42.9
Utah	43,772	8.6	1,108	0.2	4,012	0.8	2,869	0.6	3,269	0.6	342	0.1	158	.....	25	.....	10.9
Nevada	12,275	13.5	516	0.6	3,090	3.4	4,871	5.3	608	0.7	483	0.5	47	.....	12	.....	24.1
Pacific																	
Washington	244,256	15.6	6,840	0.4	562	.....	11,253	0.7	17,837	1.1	2,195	0.1	3,480	0.2	53	.....	18.3
Oregon	105,475	11.1	2,234	0.2	1,568	0.2	4,776	0.5	4,958	0.5	2,075	0.2	1,066	0.1	35	.....	12.8
California	810,034	14.3	81,048	1.4	368,013	6.5	19,212	0.3	97,456	1.7	37,361	0.7	30,470	0.5	1,873	.....	25.5

belt chiefly by Mexicans. The western line of demarcation runs roughly through east Texas to San Antonio, thence southeastward to Corpus Christi on the Gulf. In the last years of industrial expansion in the middle western industrial district, Negroes and Mexicans both had begun to take places at the bottom of the scale filled previously by European immigrants. Owing to the presence of Orientals, the far western states, particularly California, show the greatest variety of important immigrant and race groups.

It will be noted that the proportions of immigrant and race minority groups to total population, by divisions of the country, shows a comparatively small range. The highest proportion is 30.1 per cent, found in the South Atlantic division, where the Negroes alone comprise 28 per cent of the total population. The average for the United States is 22.2 per cent. The lowest proportion is 11.2 per cent in the West North Central division. Variations from state to state are much more pronounced, rising from a minimum of 7.6 per cent immigrant and race minority peoples in Iowa, to a maximum of 50.8 per cent in Mississippi; in the latter state 50.2 per cent is accounted for by Negroes alone.

By sections, the South shows the highest proportion of immigrant and race minority peoples, namely, 28.3 per cent. Negroes constitute 24.7 per cent; white immigrants and Mexicans constitute only 1.4 and 1.8 per cent, respectively, of the total population. The North has the lowest proportion of immigrant and race minority peoples, 19.2 per cent. The largest element is immigrant whites, constituting 15.6 per cent; Negroes make up but 3.3 per cent. In the West the proportion of immigrant and race minority peoples is 21.4 per cent. White immigrants constitute 12.2 per cent; Mexicans, 5.2 per cent; and Indians, Japanese, and Negroes, only 1.2, 1.1, and 1 per cent, respectively.

It is an interesting commentary on the effective development of public opinion throughout the rest of the United States concerning the Japanese "problem" of California, that the Japanese constitute but 1.7 per cent of the total population of that state, while Mexicans constitute 6.5 per cent. And in Texas, whose citizens so often have not regarded it as an immigrant receiving state—thinking, doubtless, of the 1.7 per cent of foreign-born whites—Negroes constitute 14.7 per cent, and Mexicans 11.7 per cent of the total population. More detailed analysis may be made at the desire of the reader by consulting the map (following p. 50) and table 4 (pp. 32–34).

IV

MEXICAN ORIGINS, AND STREAMS OF MIGRATION

Just as Mexicans are distributed unevenly over the United States, so they have been drawn unevenly from different parts of their own country. Furthermore, within the general movement of Mexicans between the two countries there are distinct streams of migration.

TABLE 5

Comparison of Regional Origins in Mexico of Mexican Immigrants in Six Localities in the U. S. A. with Distribution of Population in Mexico, with Destinations of Repatriates from the Entire United States, 1926–1932, and with Other Indices*
(*in percentages*)

Region in U.S.A. (or class of data)	Northeast	Central plateau	West coast	South and east	Total
Population of Mexico, 1930	16.2	50.5	5.9	27.4	100.0
Repatriates, all U. S. A.	54.2	36.7	8.2	.9	100.0
Emigrants from Mexico	42.8	46.9	8.6	1.7	100.0
Money orders received in Mexico	27.9	67.1	3.9	1.1	100.0
Imperial Valley, California	17.6	35.3	45.3	1.8	100.0
Los Angeles County, California	29.3	60.4	9.7	.6	100.0
Orange County, California	23.2	66.5	9.5	.8	100.0
Winter Garden district, south Texas	87.1	12.5	.1	.3	100.0
Corpus Christi, Texas, consular district	75.5	23.6	.1	.8	100.0
Chicago and Calumet region	21.3	74.8	2.0	1.9	100.0

* Population of Mexico by regions computed from census of 1930. See footnote to table 6 for sources of data on repatriates, all U.S.A., 1926-1932; emigrants from Mexico to U.S.A., 1926-1932; money orders from U.S.A. received in Mexico, July-August, 1926; Los Angeles and Orange County data. Imperial Valley data based on 6,127 cases (see I:20). Winter Garden district data based on 793 Catholic baptismal records at Asherton, Texas (see I:307). Corpus Christi data based on 1,078 names registered at Mexican consulate 1928-1929 (see Paul S. Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas; University of North Carolina Press, 1934, p. 95).

For purposes of this table, the following grouping of Mexican states has been employed:

Northeast: Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Nuevo León, San Luis Potosí and Tamaulipas.

Central Plateau: Aguascalientes, Distrito Federal, Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacán, Puebla, Querétaro, Tlaxcala, and Zacatecas.

West Coast: Baja California, Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora.

South and East: Campeche, Chiapas, Colima, Guerrero, Morelos, Oaxaca, Quintana Roo, Tabasco, Vera Cruz, and Yucatán.

This regional classification of Mexico differs somewhat from that which I employed in "Note on Streams of Mexican Migration," American Journal of Sociology, September, 1930, pp. 287-288.

Tables 5 and 6 permit comparison of three indices of origins of Mexican emigration to the United States, namely, destination of repatriates, point of departure of emigrants, and point of receipt of money orders from the United States. The two first indices are based on statistics of the Mexican Migration Service. The last was a brilliantly conceived at-

TABLE 6

STATE OF DESTINATION OF 546,924 MEXICAN REPATRIATES FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1926–1932, OF 10,198 MEXICANS REPATRIATED FROM LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, 1930–1932, AND OF 23,846 INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDERS SENT FROM THE UNITED STATES IN JULY–AUGUST, 1926; STATE OF ORIGIN OF 258,937 MEXICANS EMIGRATING FROM MEXICO TO THE UNITED STATES, 1926–1932, AND OF 504 MEXICANS RESIDENT IN ORANGE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, 1930*

State of destination or origin	Repatriates from U.S.A., 1926-1932		Emigrants to U.S.A., 1926-1932		Receipt of money orders July-August 1926†	Repatriates from Los Angeles County		Residents of Orange County	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Nuevo León	89,312	16.3	24,963	9.6	8.0	121	1.2	2	0.4
Coahuila	74,069	13.5	42,064	16.2	3.8	754	7.4	21	4.2
Chihuahua	63,571	11.6	15,483	6.0	4.4	1,191	11.7	62	12.3
Jalisco	50,687	9.3	36,754	14.2	14.7	1,299	12.7	125	24.8
Guanajuato	49,230	9.0	26,591	10.3	19.6	1,661	16.3	45	8.9
Tamaulipas	44,571	8.2	17,941	6.9	2.1	63	0.6	0	.....
Michoacán	40,548	7.4	24,348	9.4	20.0	807	7.9	71	14.1
Distrito Federal	26,648	4.9	17,278	6.7	5.0	712	7.0	11	2.2
Sonora	22,706	4.2	14,693	5.7	1.2	405	4.0	27	5.3
Zacatecas	19,022	3.5	11,248	4.3	4.8	812	8.0	49	9.7
Durango	15,387	2.8	5,589	2.2	5.9	722	7.0	27	5.3
Aguascalientes	12,181	2.2	3,750	1.5	1.9	793	7.8	31	6.2
Baja California	11,387	2.1	2,540	1.0	0.5	0	.....	2	0.4
San Luis Potosí	9,652	1.8	4,812	1.9	3.7	132	1.3	5	1.0
Sinaloa	9,258	1.7	4,226	1.6	2.0	456	4.5	7	1.4
Yucatán	2,043	0.4	2,221	0.9	0.3	0	.....	0	.....
Nayarit	1,320	0.3	758	0.3	0.2	130	1.3	12	2.4
Vera Cruz	1,196	0.2	993	0.4	0.2	25	0.2	1	0.2

* Less than one-tenth of one per cent not shown. Data on repatriates and emigrants from Mexican official sources, partly unpublished. Curiously, the total of repatriates and emigrants migrating between Mexico and the United States, arrived at by summation of data for individual years and states, exceeds slightly the totals (543,206, and 256,868, respectively) of all Mexican repatriates and emigrants entering or leaving Mexico, as determined in the same manner. Los Angeles data by courtesy of Bureau of County Welfare, which arranged the repatriation. Orange County data by courtesy of Miss Druzilla R. Mackey and staff of Americanization teachers.

† From Gamio, *op. cit.*, 13.

TABLE 6—(*Concluded*)

State of destination or origin	Repatriates from U.S.A., 1926-1932		Emigrants to U.S.A., 1926-1932		Receipt of money orders July-August 1926†	Repatriates from Los Angeles County		Residents of Orange County	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Colima	772	0.1	588	0.2	0.2	37	0.4	0	.....
Querétaro	660	0.1	279	0.1	0.2	17	0.2	0	.....
Puebla	585	0.1	405	0.2	0.3	22	0.2	0	.....
Hidalgo	511	0.1	364	0.1	0.2	22	0.2	0	.....
Guerrero	434	0.1	280	0.1	0.2	0	.....	3	0.6
México	433	0.1	329	0.1	0.3	14	0.1	3	0.6
Tabasco	227	.....	218	0.1	.....	0	.....	0	.....
Oaxaca	184	.....	116	.....	0.2	0	.....	0	.....
Campeche	98	.....	73	.....	.....	0	.....	0	.....
Chiapas	88	.....	71	.....	.....	0	.....	0	.....
Morelos	75	.....	24	.....	.....	0	.....	0	.....
Tlaxcala	39	.....	33	.....	0.1	3	.....	0	.....
Quintana Roo	30	.....	5	.....	.....	0	.....	0	.....
Total	546,924	100.0	258,937	100.0	100.0	10,198	100.0	504	100.0

† From Gamio, *op. cit.*, 13.

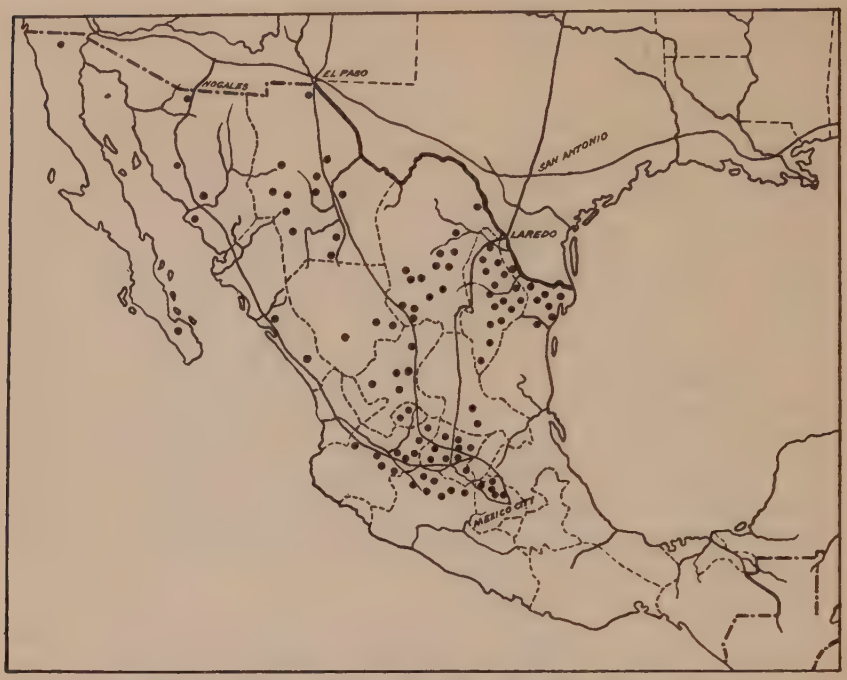
tempt by Dr. Gamio to arrive at distribution of Mexican immigrants in the United States during an inter-censal period, and of their origins in Mexico. Valuable as the data on money orders are for some purposes,[15] I do not believe that they represent a satisfactory index of distribution of origins: they are subject to important extraneous influences such as variations in earnings in different parts of the United States, in duration of migration to the United States, in family composition of the group which migrates, and in kind of obligations to dependents at home. For example, a higher proportion of money orders was received in the central plateau of Mexico, and a lower proportion was received in the northeastern border states than would be expected from examination of data on repatriates and emigrants (see tables 5 and 6). The probable explanation lies in the fact that a high proportion of Mexicans in the North came from the distant central plateau, that a high proportion are young adult males without families in the United States, that earnings in the industrial North are higher, that probably their average duration of emigration is longer, and that family ties to Mexico are probably greater. Furthermore, the data on money orders are limited in number and in duration of time on which they are based.

As between data on repatriates and on emigrants, the former furnish a preferable index. The Mexican Migration Service for years has been able to record entries more completely than departures,[16] and in general the returning emigrants return to the state from which they departed. Query naturally may be raised concerning the high proportion of Mexicans returning to the northeastern border states. As an index of origins, it does not conform to the fragmentary data presented by Dr. Gamio and by the United States Immigration Service or to part of my own earlier data.[17] Nevertheless, this apparent divergence becomes reasonable on examination. The proportion of repatriates who came from Texas is high (49.1 per cent during 1926–1932, inclusive), which is a "proper" proportion in light of the fact that Mexicans in Texas comprised 48.1 per cent of all Mexicans in the United States in 1930 (see table 3), and that the Mexicans of Texas come, in exceptionally high numbers, from the northeastern Mexican states (see table 5). The somewhat unexpected distribution of origins in Mexico indicated by repatriations (tables 5 and 6 and map 3), therefore, may be accepted with a good deal of confidence.

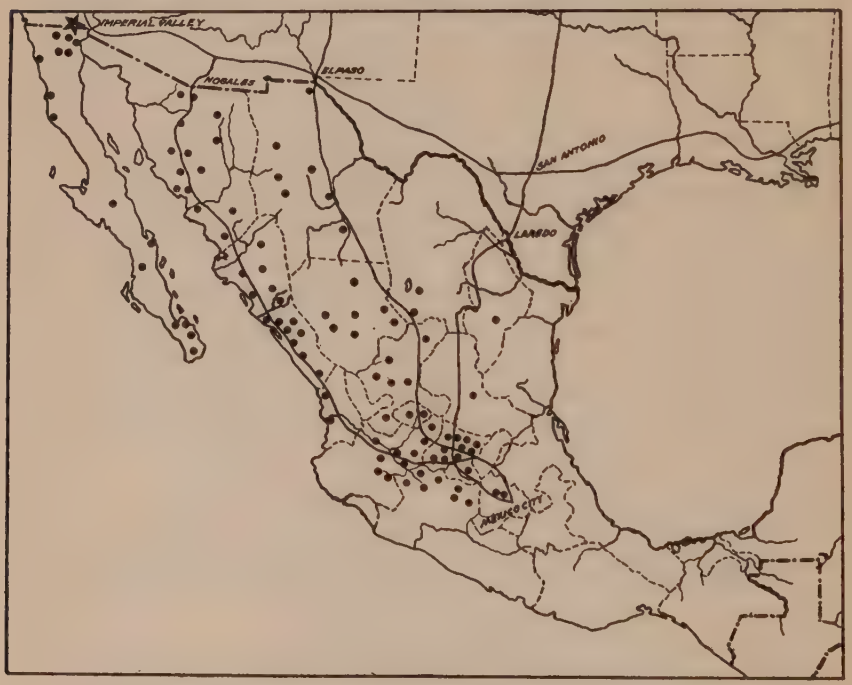
[15] I have followed Dr. Gamio's technique in another connection; see Arandas, *op. cit.*, 33.

[16] See, for example, I, 250–251; Gamio, *op. cit.*, 8 ff.

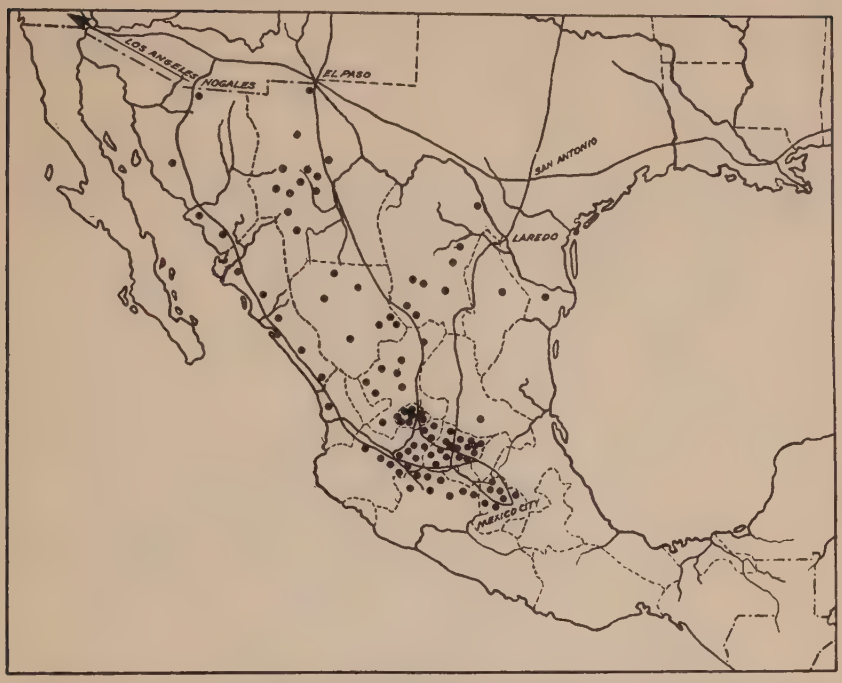
[17] See Gamio, *op. cit.*; R. F. Foerster, The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies (Department of Labor, 1925), 51; I: 22, II: 49; but see *contra*, I: 307, and An American-Mexican Frontier, *op. cit.*



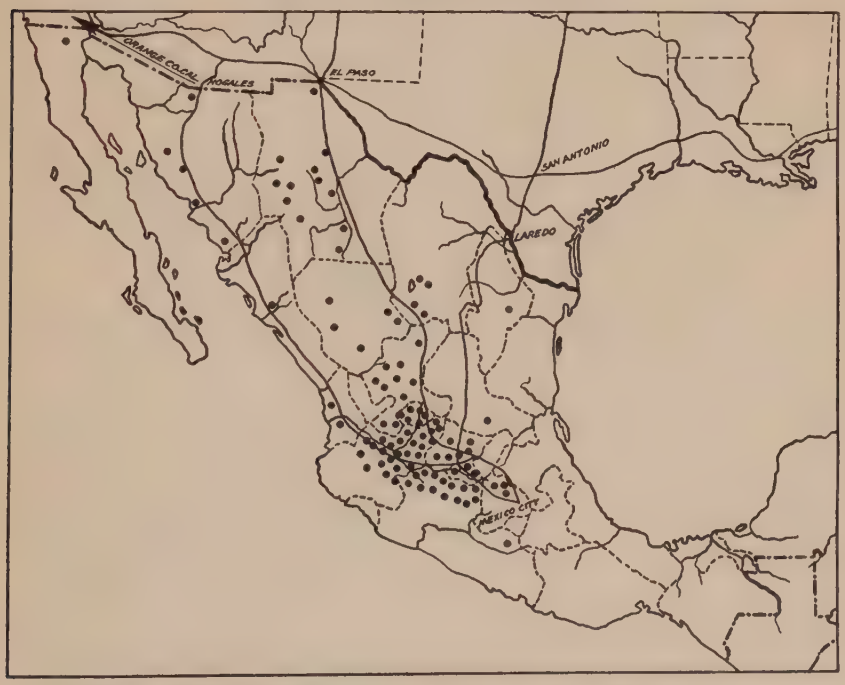
Map 3. Destinations of Mexican repatriates from the *United States*, 1926–1932.
One dot = 1 per cent.



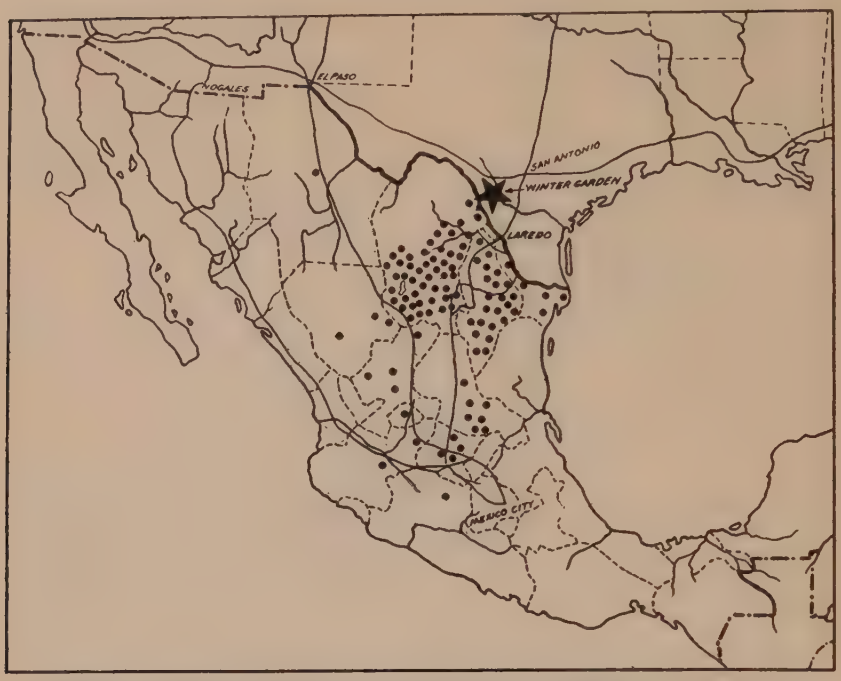
Map 4. Origins of Mexican colony, *Imperial Valley, California*, 1926–1927.
One dot = 1 per cent.



Map 5. Destinations of Mexican repatriates from *Los Angeles County, California,* 1930–1932. One dot = 1 per cent.



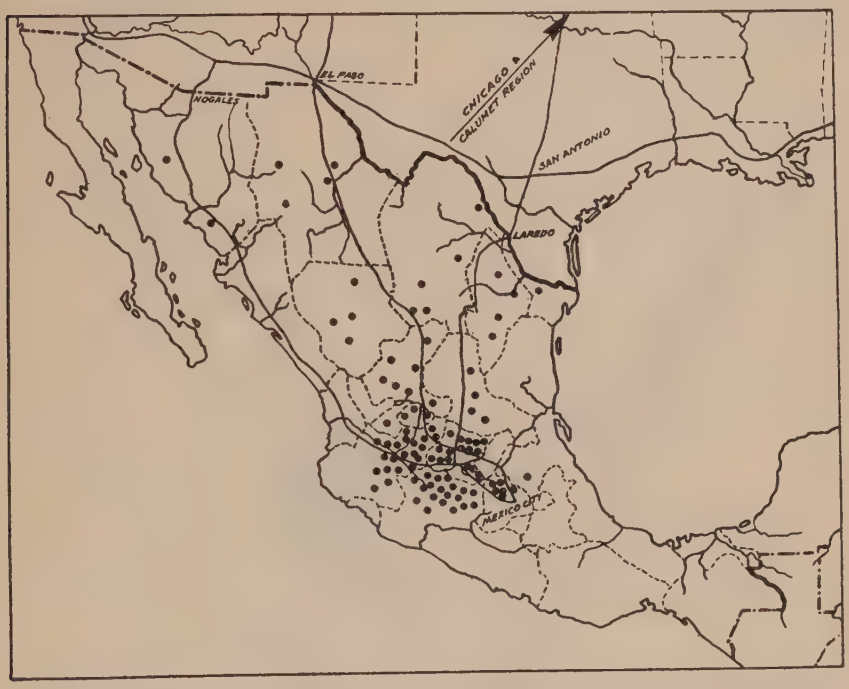
Map 6. Origins of Mexican colony, *Orange County, California,* 1930. One dot = 1 per cent.



Map 7. Origins of Mexican colony, *Winter Garden District, south Texas,* 1884–1928. One dot = 1 per cent.

Map 8. Origins of Mexican colony, *Corpus Christi Consular District, Texas,* 1928–1929. One dot = 1 per cent.

It will be noted that repatriations are distributed very differently from the population of Mexico. As table 5 shows, more than half the repatriates went to these northeastern states, which have but one-sixth of the population of the Republic; just over one-third of the repatriates returned to the central plateau, where one-half of the population resides; and less than one per cent returned to the southern and eastern states, which have more than one-quarter of the total population of Mexico.

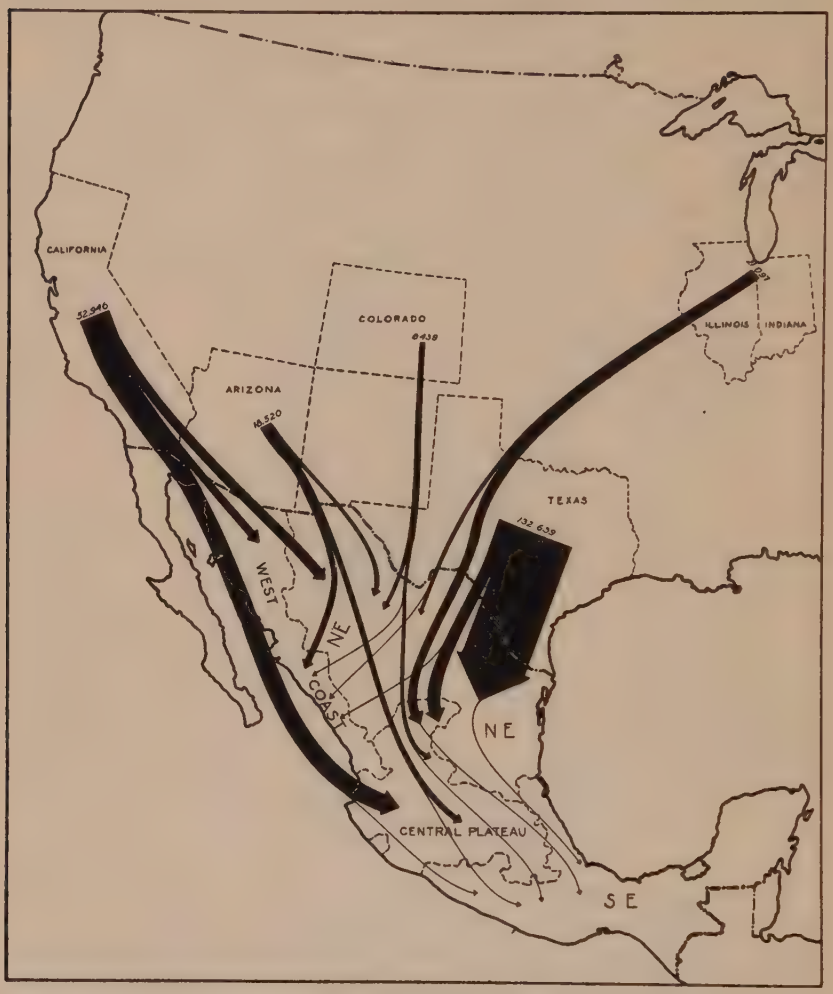


Map 9. Origins of Mexican colony, *Chicago and the Calumet region*, 1919–1930. One dot = 1 per cent.

Table 5 presents the results of studies of the regional origins in Mexico of six Mexican colonies in the United States, and the destination in Mexico of Mexicans repatriated from all parts of the United States, 1926–1932 inclusive. The six studies are based upon samples of varying sizes, depending upon the availability of data; therefore, in table 5 the distribution by states is represented in percentages. Only a part of the detailed data supporting the regional classification of origins in table 5 is presented in table 6; the rest of the data have already been published in the places named in the footnote to table 5.

Maps 4 to 8, based on table 5, show in striking fashion the contrasting origins of three Mexican colonies of southern California and two colonies of south Texas. Transportation facilities and proximity have been pre-

dominant influences. The California colonies have drawn heavily from the central plateau, the northern border, and the west coast—from the last-named particularly in Imperial Valley. The Los Angeles sample probably underestimates somewhat the proportion of Mexicans in the



Map 10. Regional destinations of Mexican repatriates from Texas, California, Illinois-Indiana, Arizona, and Colorado, respectively, 1930–1932.

entire Los Angeles colony which came from Baja California and the northern border, for the Bureau of County Welfare, whose repatriations constitute the sample used here, declined to finance any repatriation to Baja California, and distressed Mexicans desiring to return to adjacent border states were more often able to arrange their own transportation to these areas than were Mexicans from more remote parts.

TABLE 7

MEXICAN REPATRIATES FROM THE U. S. A., 1930–1932 INCLUSIVE; CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POINT OF DEPARTURE IN THE U. S. A. AND DESTINATION IN MEXICO*

State of Departure in U.S.A. / Destination in Mexico	Texas		California		Arizona		Illinois		Colorado		Michigan		Indiana	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Nuevo León	40,759	30.7	894	1.7	156	.8	1,078	7.5	559	6.6	1,192	16.1	551	8.3
Coahuila	29,126	22.0	3,367	6.4	573	3.1	559	3.9	940	11.2	546	7.4	264	4.0
Chihuahua	15,903	12.0	6,991	13.2	2,892	15.6	215	1.5	1,854	22.0	85	1.1	62	.9
Guanajuato	6,383	4.8	5,543	10.5	615	3.3	3,367	23.3	1,416	16.8	1,150	15.5	1,511	22.7
Tamaulipas	21,254	16.0	203	.4	27	.2	346	2.4	44	.5	235	3.2	103	1.5
Jalisco	2,890	2.2	7.761	14.7	2,934	15.9	2,552	17.7	812	9.6	1,154	15.5	1,310	19.7
Michoacán	3,076	2.3	4,454	8.4	323	1.8	2,999	20.8	736	8.7	1,316	17.7	1,894	28.4
Distrito Federal	4,403	3.3	2,826	5.3	360	1.9	1,544	10.7	312	3.7	826	11.1	376	5.6
Zacatecas	1,496	1.1	4,049	7.6	1,152	6.2	513	3.5	492	5.8	194	2 6	168	2.5
Sonora	103	.1	2,353	4.4	6,064	32.7	14	.1	15	.2	2	.0	0	.0
Durango	2,241	1.7	3,039	5.7	643	3.5	242	1.7	468	5.6	123	1.7	91	1.4
Aguascalientes	1,039	.8	2,805	5.3	1,170	6.3	394	2.7	543	6.4	195	2.6	131	2.0
Baja California	31	.0	4,931	9.3	302	1.6	0	.0	4	.0	3	.0	9	.1
San Luis Potosí	3,172	2.4	314	.6	70	.4	404	2.8	126	1.5	288	3.9	133	2.0
Sinaloa	44	.0	2,369	4.5	995	5.4	6	.0	9	.1	2	.0	1	.0
Other states	719	.6	1,047	2.0	244	1.3	203	1.4	109	1.3	115	1.6	57	.9
Total	132,639	100.0	52,946	100.0	18,520	100.0	14,436	100.0	8,439	100.0	7,426	100.0	6,661	100.0
Per cent of total	49.1		19.6		6.9		5.3		3.1		2.7		2.5	

For totals and percentages of departures from the United States see last two columns below.

State of Departure in U.S.A. / Destination in Mexico	New Mexico		New York		Kansas		Missouri		Ohio		Nebraska		Other States		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Nuevo León	96	1.5	146	4.4	166	5.2	236	11.2	162	9.9	64	4.2	979	9.1	47,038	17.4
Coahuila	522	8.2	112	3.4	193	6.1	108	5.1	78	4.8	225	14.9	906	8.4	37,519	13.9
Chihuahua	3,822	60.0	38	1.1	444	14.0	85	4.1	53	3.2	108	7.2	737	6.8	33,289	12.3
Guanajuato	346	5.4	108	3.2	912	28.8	603	28.7	278	17.0	288	19.1	1,810	16.8	24,330	9.0
Tamaulipas	14	.2	114	3.4	47	1.5	78	3.7	82	5.0	43	2.9	326	3.0	22,916	8.5
Jalisco	385	6.0	229	6.9	408	12.9	242	11.5	397	24.2	186	12.3	1,535	14.2	22,795	8.5
Michoacán	112	1.7	114	3.4	431	13.6	312	14.9	304	18.6	264	17.5	1,526	14.1	17,861	6.6
Distrito Federal	101	1.6	1,734	51.9	147	4.6	197	9.4	114	7.0	48	3.2	867	8.1	13,855	5.1
Zacatecas	269	4.2	22	.7	103	3.3	59	2.8	32	2.0	94	6.2	483	4.5	9,126	3.4
Sonora	62	1.0	5	.1	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	1	.1	66	.6	8,686	3.2
Durango	393	6.2	27	.8	117	3.7	20	1.0	20	1.2	94	6.2	293	2.7	7,811	2.9
Aguascalientes	170	2.7	27	.8	129	4.1	73	3.5	50	3.0	66	4.4	435	4.0	7,227	2.7
Baja California	4	.1	3	.1	0	.0	0	.0	3	.2	1	.1	31	.3	5,322	2.0
San Luis Potosí	29	.4	45	1.3	49	1.6	61	2.9	40	2.4	16	1.1	219	2.0	4,966	1.8
Sinaloa	11	.2	6	.2	1	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	81	.8	3,526	1.3
Other states	36	.6	613	18.3	20	.6	26	1.2	23	1.4	7	.5	502	4.6	3,720	1.4
Total	6,372	100.0	3,343	100.0	3,167	100.0	2,100	100.0	1,637	100.0	1,506	100.0	10,795	100.0	269,987	100.0
Per cent of total	2.4		1.2		1.2		.8		.6		.6		4.0		100.0	

* Data from Mexican unpublished official sources by courtesy of Departamento de la Estadística Nacional and its successor, the Departamento de Economía y Estadística. A very few slight discrepancies in the detail figures were rectified upon the assumption that the totals furnished were correct.

TABLE 8

REGIONAL DESTINATIONS IN MEXICO OF MEXICAN REPATRIATES FROM SELECTED AREAS IN THE U. S. A., 1930–1932 INCLUSIVE*

Areas of Departure from U.S.A.	Texas		California		Illinois-Indiana		Arizona		Colorado		Total	
Destination in Mexico	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Northeast	*112,455*	*84.8*	*14,808*	*28.0*	*4,048*	*19.2*	*4,361*	*23.6*	*3,991*	*47.3*	*139,663*	*59.8*
Nuevo León	40,759	30.7	894	1.7	1,629	7.7	156	.8	559	6.6	43,997	18.8
Coahuila	29,126	22.0	3,367	6.4	823	3.9	573	3.1	940	11.1	34,829	14.9
Chihuahua	15,903	12.0	6,991	13.2	277	1.3	2,892	15.6	1,854	22.0	27,917	11.9
Tamaulipas	21,254	16.0	203	.4	449	2.1	27	.1	44	.5	21,977	9.4
Durango	2,241	1.7	3,039	5.7	333	1.6	643	3.5	468	5.6	6,724	2.9
San Luis Potosí	3,172	2.4	314	.6	537	2.6	70	.4	126	1.5	4,219	1.8
Central Plateau	*19,646*	*14.8*	*27,676*	*52.3*	*16,908*	*80.1*	*6,599*	*35.6*	*4,379*	*51.9*	*75,208*	*32.2*
Guanajuato	6,383	4.8	5,543	10.5	4,878	23.1	615	3.3	1,416	16.8	18,835	8.1
Jalisco	2,890	2.2	7,761	14.7	3,862	18.3	2,934	15.9	812	9.6	18,259	7.8
Michoacán	3,076	2.3	4,454	8.4	4,893	23.2	323	1.7	736	8.7	13,482	5.8
Distrito Federal	4,403	3.3	2,826	5.3	1,920	9.1	360	1.9	312	3.7	9,821	4.2
Zacatecas	1,496	1.1	4,049	7.7	681	3.2	1,152	6.2	492	5.8	7,870	3.4
Aguascalientes	1,039	.8	2,805	5.3	525	2.5	1,170	6.3	543	6.4	6,082	2.6
Querétaro	120	.1	42	.1	46	.2	3	†	34	.4	245	.1
México	72	.1	75	.1	45	.2	14	.1	6	.1	212	.1
Puebla	98	.1	59	.1	23	.1	8	†	7	.1	195	.1
Hidalgo	59	†	62	.1	32	.2	15	.1	21	.3	189	.1
Tlaxcala	10	†	0	.0	3	†	5	†	0	.0	18	†

* Source of original data same as table 7. The repatriates from the selected areas shown in this table include 86.5 per cent of all repatriates to Mexico during the period 1930-1932.

† Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

TABLE 8—(*Concluded*)

Areas of Departure from U.S.A. / Destination in Mexico	Texas		California		Illinois-Indiana		Arizona		Colorado		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
West Coast	*204*	*.2*	*9,970*	*18.8*	*53*	*.3*	*7,504*	*40.5*	*29*	*.3*	*17,760*	*7.6*
Sonora	103	.1	2,353	4.4	14	.1	6,064	32.7	15	.2	8,549	3.7
Baja California	31	†	4,931	9.3	9	†	302	1.6	4	†	5,277	2.3
Sinaloa	44	†	2,369	4.5	7	†	995	5.4	9	.1	3,424	1.5
Nayarit	26	†	317	.6	23	.1	143	.8	1	†	510	.2
South and East	*323*	*.2*	*492*	*.9*	*88*	*.4*	*56*	*.3*	*39*	*.5*	*998*	*.4*
Vera Cruz	160	.1	58	.1	26	.1	17	.1	30	.4	291	.1
Colima	21	†	212	.4	17	.1	14	.1	6	.1	270	.1
Guerrero	21	†	159	.3	23	.1	9	†	0	.0	212	.1
Oaxaca	55	†	25	†	6	†	4	†	2	†	92	†
Chiapas	10	†	13	†	7	†	2	†	0	.0	32	†
Morelos	20	†	7	†	0	.0	4	†	1	†	32	†
Yucatán	19	†	10	†	2	†	0	.0	0	.0	31	†
Tabasco	7	†	4	†	7	†	0	.0	0	.0	18	†
Campeche	9	†	2	†	0	.0	2	†	0	.0	13	†
Quintana Roo	1	†	2	†	0	.0	4	†	0	.0	7	†
Total	*132,639‡*	*100.0*	*52,946*	*100.0*	*21,097*	*100.0*	*18,520*	*100.0*	*8,439‡*	*100.0*	*233,641‡*	*100.0*
Per cent of grand total	56.8		22.7		9.0		7.9		3.6		100.0	

† Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

‡ Includes 11 repatriates from Texas and 1 from Colorado, whose destinations were unreported.

The Texas colonies, less than those of California, have drawn immigrants from the central plateau. Proximity has made travel by horse, burro, or on foot easy for vaqueros of the early days, and more recently for cotton pickers and vegetable laborers. Rail transportation (and water travel to Imperial Valley), which render distance less important, have played a more important part in settlement of Mexicans in California than they have in the Mexican labor colonization of south Texas, which began much earlier.

Mexicans coming to Chicago and the Calumet region, it will be observed from map 9, have "leap-frogged" from the central plateau states of Mexico to the heart of the industrial North, passing through the cotton and onion fields of south Texas filled with their compatriots from the north Mexican border. Table 7 presents streams of migration as revealed by repatriations to Mexico, 1930–1932. Table 8 and map 10 show in striking fashion the relative magnitudes of repatriation movements during the three peak years, 1930–1932, from four southwestern states—Texas, California, Arizona, and Colorado, and from Illinois-Indiana, in which is located the industrial center of Chicago and the Calumet region. Differences of destination of the repatriates from the various regions appear clearly.

The numbers of Mexicans emigrating from south of Mexico City are almost insignificant. Disorganization of the old structure of society has proceeded far more slowly in these parts than in the north, and there are fewer large estates worked by hordes of peons. These reasons are much more important than increased distance as an explanation of failure to emigrate.

V

SUMMARY

Following the close of a prolonged era of mass immigration from Mexico ending in 1929, a period of heavy repatriation immediately set in. It rose in the second year to a peak of 115,344 net repatriations in 1931, then declined to 31,484 in 1933.

Of Mexicans in the United States in 1930, nine-tenths resided in the four extreme southwestern states and Colorado. Repatriations during 1930–1932 have occurred somewhat out of "proper" proportion, especially from northern industrial states. Although but 3.6 per cent of Mexicans in the United States in 1930 lived in Illinois, Michigan, and Indiana, these states furnished 10.5 per cent of the repatriates.

Omission by the federal census of 1930 of persons of "Spanish" or "Mexican" stock, if beyond the second generation in the United States, becomes a matter of considerable importance in some parts of the Southwest. In New Mexico, for example, the federal census of 1930 recorded

59,340 Mexicans, but the "Spanish" stock (including Mexicans) in the state at that time is estimated at 202,709 persons, an excess of 243 per cent over the census enumeration of Mexicans.

Irregular adherence to the 1930 census definition of Mexicans creates further difficulty. In the United States some 264,338 persons of Mexican descent, but of native parentage, who were technically excluded by the census definition, were nevertheless returned as Mexicans. In New Mexico 25,568 persons, or 43.1 per cent of all persons reported as Mexicans from that state, were native "Mexicans" of native parentage, and therefore not strictly within the census classification. In California the percentage was only 7.9; in Colorado it stood at 57.1.

Comparison of the distribution of Mexicans is made with immigrant and race minority groups, and with total population, by divisions, states, and sections. West of the black belt, Mexicans have filled the labor demand met in the Old South by the Negroes. Both have moved recently into the industrial midwestern lake region, the Mexicans following on the heels of the Negroes, and leaving in large numbers under stress of depression, mainly since the date of the census.

Mexican immigrants have been drawn very unequally from different parts of Mexico. A good one-half have come from the northeastern border states, and a good one-third from the central plateau. Virtually none have come from the southern and southeastern part of the Mexican Republic. Striking diversities of origin of Mexican colonies in various parts of the United States are noted. For example, approximately 87 per cent of the Mexicans of the Winter Garden district of south Texas came from the northeastern part of Mexico, but only 17.6 per cent of the Mexicans of Imperial Valley, California, came from the same region; only about 13 per cent of the Winter Garden Mexicans came from the central plateau of Mexico, as contrasted with 75 per cent of the Mexicans of Chicago and the Calumet region.

MAPS

Map 1. Mexicans in the United States, 1930, by counties and cities of 25,000 or more total population, according to United States census.

Map 2. Principal immigrant and race minority groups in the United States, 1930, according to United States census.

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